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United States Department of State

Washington, D. C. 20520

**ACTION MEMORANDUM**

**S/S**

**SECRET/SENSITIVE**

**TO: The Secretary**

**THRU: P - Michael H. Armacost**

**FROM: EAP - Paul Wolfowitz**

**SUBJECT: Philippines: A Presidential Emissary to Manila.**

**ISSUE FOR DECISION**

Whether to send Judge Clark as a Presidential emissary to Manila to underscore to President Marcos the Administration's concern about the growing communist insurgency and the lack of credible progress on political, economic, and military reform.

**ESSENTIAL FACTORS**

In pursuit of our Philippine policy, as enumerated in NSDD 163, the time has come to send a Presidential emissary to Manila to reinforce our demarches over the past months to President Marcos on the urgent need for concrete, across the board reforms needed to revitalize political, economic and military institutions. Ambassador Bosworth has urged, and we concur, that such a Presidential message be delivered within the next several weeks by an individual whom Marcos will see as coming directly from President Reagan. Judge Clark would be ideal.

Absent such high level reinforcement of our policy message, Marcos will most likely continue his minimalist approach to reform of the past several months, and we will wind up far short of the credible reform record we will need for next year's struggles with the Congress over bases-related security assistance. More importantly, without such progress, the political and economic situation in Manila will deteriorate further, enabling the escalating communist insurgency to continue to exploit the Marcos' government's low credibility and the ineffective military response.

We envisage several visits by Judge Clark over a period of months to keep Marcos focussed on the issues and convinced of our resolve. Judge Clark's approach should be friendly but direct.

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While giving Marcos some credit for his limited reforms in some areas, he should stress that far more needs to be done if we are to have any chance of Congressional approval of the FY 87 security assistance package. Clark should give equal stress to the economy, fair elections and military reform, including the military leadership issue (i.e. the blow to our bilateral relations if General Ver were to return as Chief of Staff following his expected acquittal in the Aquino murder trial).

We should recognize that a Presidential emissary is a significant step up in the incremental approach we have been pursuing to achieve the institutional reforms needed to move the Philippines through a stable transition to the post-Marcos era--whenever that occurs. It is also a necessary step to take prior to addressing the very hard choices we may have to face if Marcos in the end will not allow institutions to be strengthened at the expense of his personal political position, i.e. if he refuses to be part of the solution.

The strategy can only be worthwhile if the emissary is someone of the stature and personal qualifications of Judge Clark.

RECOMMENDATION

That you approve the attached Platt-McFarlane Memorandum which recommends that Judge Clark be designated as a Presidential emissary to Marcos.

Approve \_\_\_\_\_ Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

DRAFTED: EAP/PHL: JDFinney  
1079a x 1222 8/14/85

CLEARED: EAP/PHL: JFMaisto  
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